

mision. The world has witnessed many wars—and history records and perpetuates their memory. But the world has not yet seen one grand war—the like of which the loyal people of this country are now waging against the slaveholding Rebels. The blow we strike is not merely to free a country or continent—but the whole world from Slavery—when Slavery falls here—it will fall everywhere. We have no business to mourn over our mission. We are writing the statistics of eternal justice and liberty in the blood of the worst of tyrants as a warning to all after-comers. We should rejoice that there was moral life and strength in us to stand in our appointed place, and do this great service for mankind.

It is true that the war seems long. But this very slow progress is an essential element of its effectiveness. Like the slow convergence of some patients, the war is less energetic, but the method is more certain, the deepest character of the disease. We were in a very low condition before the remedy was applied. The whole head was sick and the whole heart faint. Dr. Buchanan and his Democratic friends have given us up, and were preparing to celebrate the nation's funeral. We had been dragged nearly to death by Pro-Slavery compromises. A radical change was needed in our whole system. Nothing is better calculated to effect the desired change than the slow, steady and certain progress of the war.

I know that this view of the case is not very congenial to the peace Democrats. We are not and cannot be neutral in this much of our political church. They regard this grand moral revolution in the mind and heart of the nation as the most distressing attribute of the war, and how over it like certain judgments of God. We read—who thought themselves tormented before their time.

Upon the whole, I like their mode of characterizing the war. They charge that it is no longer conducted upon constitutional principles. The same was said by Breckinridge and Vallandigham. They charge that it is not waged to establish the Union as it was. The same idea has occurred to Jefferson Davis. They charge that this is a war for the subjugation of the South. In a word, that it is an Anti-slavery war.

For one I am thankful to deny this charge. But it is important to observe how this charge is brought and how it is met. Both wars are of danger. Why is this war fiercely denounced as an abolition war? I answer, because the nation has long and bitterly hated Abolition, and the enemies of the war confidently rely upon this hatred to serve the ends of treason. Why do the loyal people deny the charge? I answer, because the war is still odious. Both the charge and the denial tell how the people hate and despise the only measure that can save the country.

In an abolition war? Well, let us thank the Democracy for teaching us this word. The charge in a comprehensive sense is most true, and it is not a pity that it is true, but it would be a vast pity if it were not true. Would that it were more true than it is. When our Government and people shall surely avow this to be an abolition war, then the country will be safe. Then our work will be fairly mapped out. Then the united voice of the nation will swing between the two extremes, and the spirit and power of the nation will be broken down.

Fourthly, And superior to all others, is the national pride and hatred toward the colored people of the country, a feeling which has done more to encourage the hopes of the Rebels than all other powers.

Fifthly: An abolitionist is an object of popular hate. The guilty Rebel who with broad and bloody hands seeks the life of the nation, at this hour more acceptable to the northern Democrats than an abolitionist guilty of no crime. When he is to be a man's abilities, virtue, or worth, the fact that he is an abolitionist makes him an object of popular hate.

Upon the whole, I like their mode of characterizing the war. The Democracy still have hopes of making out their corner-stones. Their two main pillars are still standing, and all commandments are still true, though they may be shaken. Around these two stand their manners, politics, religion, and laws revolve. Slavery is being right, all that is inconsistent with its entire system is necessarily wrong, and of course ought to be put down. There is no flaw in their logic.

The lesson for the statesmen at this hour is to discover and apply some principle of Government which shall produce unity of sentiment, unity of idea, unity of object. Union without unity is, as we have seen, body without soul, marriage without love, a barrel without hoop, which fails at the first touch.

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The first endeavor to make the Federal Government stand upon their secured cornerstones; and we but barely escaped, as you well know, that calamity.

Fugitive Slave laws, Slavery Extension laws, and Dred Scott decisions were among the steps to get the nation squarely upon the corner-stone now chosen by the federal States. The loyal people, however, least of all, could be induced to give up the necessity of principles of National Unity. Yet, unconsciously to themselves, the Democracy still have hopes of making out their corner-stones. Their two main pillars are still standing, and all commandments are still true, though they may be shaken. Around these two stand their manners, politics, religion, and laws revolve. Slavery is being right, all that is inconsistent with its entire system is necessarily wrong, and of course ought to be put down.

Long before this rude and terrible war came to tell us of a broken Constitution and a dead Union, the better portion of the loyal people had outlived and outgrown what they had been taught to believe were the requirements of the old Union. We had come to detect the principles by which every honest man in the nation stood, and to adhere to them, above the likes of being called upon to suppress slave insurrections. We had come to be ashamed of slave-hunting, and being made the watch-dogs of slaveholders, who were too proud to sent out and hunt down their slaves for themselves.

We had far outlived the old Union four years ago that we thought the little finger of her hand of Harper's Ferry of more value to the world struggling for liberty than all the first families of old Virginia struggled for.

What but the antislavery Government at Washington could have done to bring about the dissolution of the Union, and to render the Southern Confederacy weaker, and less able to sustain itself? The South could not be made, but if that could not be prevented we hoped that she would come in as a Free State. Thirteen years ago we were quite sure that no such abomination as the Fugitive Slave Bill could get itself on our National statute book, but when it got there we were equally sure it never could be enforced. Four years ago we were sure that the Slave States would not rebel, but if they did we were sure it would be a very short rebellion. I know that times have changed very rapidly, and that we have changed very rapidly also. I know also that the old American people, and that what we have done once we may possibly do again, the leaves of compromise is among us—re-

port, while we have a Democratic party at the North trimming its sails to catch the Southern breeze in the next Presidential election, we are in danger of compromise. Tell me not of anomalies and oaths of allegiance. They are valueless in the presence of twenty hundred millions invested in human flesh. Let but the one negro of Savery get back into this Union, and in one year you shall see its whole body again upon our own soil.

What we now want is a country—a free country—and it answers, Slavery. Ask why it was opposed to the habeas corpus when it was the applicant, and it was not the slave. Ask why it is now in favor of the slave-corpse, when Rebels and traitors are the applicants for its benefits, and it answers, Slavery. Ask why it was opposed to giving persons claimed as fugitives a jury trial before returning them to slavery; ask why it is now in favor of giving jury trial to traitors before sending them to prison for sedition; ask why it is now attempting to embolden and hinder the loyal Government at every step of its progress, and you have but one answer, Slavery.

The fact is, the party in question, I say nothing of individual men who were once members of it, has had but one vital and animating principle for thirty years, and that has been the same old horrible and hell-born principle of negro Slavery.

It has now assumed a saintly character. Its members would receive the benediction of the saints. As one of the worst sins is located at the South in the aggravated state of rebellion at the North. The liver of peace in a beautiful liver, but in this case it is a rotten liver and sits badly on the wearer. These new apostles of peace call themselves Peace Democrats, and boast that they belong to the only party which can restore the country to peace. I neither dispute their title nor the pretensions founded upon it. The best that can be said of the peace-making ability of this class of men is their blotted credulity. It consists in their known treachery to the loyal Government. The way to end it is to call it bold liars to be haled by the traitors as a common man, clamen, kinman, and brothers beloved in a common conspiracy. But, fellow-citizens, I have far less solicitude about the position and the influence of this party than I have about that of the great loyal party of the country. We have much less to fear from the bold and shameless wickedness of the one than from the timid and short-sighted policy of the other.

I know we have recently gained a great political victory; but it remains to be seen whether we shall wisely avail ourselves of its manifold advantages. There is danger in the success of Generals in the field, and after soundly whipping the foe, generously allow him time to retreat in order, reorganize his forces, and intrench himself in a new and stronger position, where it will require more power and skill to dislodge him than was required to vanquish him in the first instance. The game is now in our hands. We can put an end to this dialytic party by putting an end to Slavery. While the Democratic party is in existence as an organization, it will be a constant pestilence to the loyal Government.

Thirdly: That we, the loyal people of the North and of the South, while determined to make this a short and final war, will offer no peace, accept no peace, consent to no peace, which shall not be to all intents and purposes an abolition peace.

Fourthly: That we regard the whole colored population of the country, in the loyal as well as in the disloyal States, as our countrymen—valuable in peace as laborers, valuable in war as soldiers—entitled to all the rights, protection, and opportunities for achieving distinction enjoyed by any other class of Americans.

Fifthly: That we, the white race has nothing to fear from fair competition with the black race, and that its freedom and elevation of one race are not to be purchased or in any manner rightfully干涉ed by the dismemberment of another. We shall favor immediate and unconditional emancipation in all the States, invest the black man everywhere with the right to vote and to be voted for, and remove all discriminations against his rights on account of his color, whether as a citizen or as a soldier.

Ladies and gentlemen, there was a time when I hoped that events unaided by us would suffice this Rebellion and Slavery in common grave. But as I have been informed, the facts do still short of our hopes. The question as to what shall be done with Slavery, and more especially what shall be done with the negro—threatens to remain open questions for some time to come.

It is true we have the Proclamation of January, 1863. We owe a debt of respect and gratitude to William Edward Force, John Bright, Richard Cobden, and other British statesmen, in whom we trust in the uncompromising spirit of their country. The war, however, must go on, and we are not to be afraid of it. We have never been so well prepared for it as we are now.

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Ladies and gentlemen, we have the first warm friends in England. We owe a debt of respect and gratitude to William Edward Force, John Bright, Richard Cobden, and other British statesmen, in whom we trust in the uncompromising spirit of their country. The war, however, must go on, and we are not to be afraid of it. We have never been so well prepared for it as we are now.

It is true we have the Proclamation of January, 1863. It was a most glorious step in the right direction. But it was not enough, that paper is right much as it has accomplished temporily—it settles nothing. It has given us no peace, but still short of our hopes. The question as to what shall be done with Slavery, and more especially what shall be done with the negro—threatens to remain open questions for some time to come.

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Our chief danger lies in the absence of all moral feeling in the utterances of our rulers. In his letter to Mr. Lincoln, General Lee told the country virtually that the abolition or non-abolition of Slavery was a matter of indifference to him. He would save the Union with Slavery or without Slavery. In his last message he shows the same moral indifference by saying as he does say that he had hoped that the Rebellion could be put down without the abolition of Slavery.

When the late Stephen A. Douglas uttered the sentiment that he did not care whether Slavery were put up or voted down in the Territories, we thought he had to all genuine feeling on the subject, and a man more than Mr. Lincoln deserved the compliment of an honorary member of the Senate. But to-day, the colored people of the South are now waging a war against the slaveholding Rebels. The blow we strike is not merely to free a country or continent—but the whole world from Slavery—for when Slavery falls here—it will fall everywhere. We have no business to mourn over our mission. We are writing the statistics of eternal justice and liberty in the blood of the worst of tyrants as a warning to all after-comers. We should rejoice that there was moral life and strength in us to stand in our appointed place, and do this great service for mankind.

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